------- WASHTENAW IMPRESSIONS-------

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THE LADIES' LIBRARY OF ANN ARBOR, 1866-1870.
A paper read by Mary Ellen Fink at the Oct. 25, 1961, meeting of the Society.

In 1866, long before the Public Library as we know it became a common institution in Michigan, a group of Ann Arbor women organized a library open to all Ann Arbor residents, financed only by membership fees and by whatever the women could raise by their own efforts. This library lasted for 50 years. During the first 20 years of its life it was by far the largest and most useful collection of reading matter open to the public in Ann Arbor.

In 1881, when the Ladies' Library Association was 15 years old, the books, about 200 in number, were moved into their first permanent home, the Association's new building on E. Huron St. At about the same time, the tiny "Ann Arbor Public School Library" began to get more public funds, and became more and more popular, soon rivaling the Ladies' Library. By 1896 the "Ann Arbor Public School Library" was being called the Ann Arbor Public Library, and its circulation was more than twice that of the Ladies' Library. In 1905 the two libraries competed for a Carnegie grant, and the Ladies' Library lost, under circumstances that caused bad feelings all around. In 1907 the Ann Arbor Public Library moved into the new Carnegie building at Thayer & Huron (now the Audio-Visual Education Center of the Univ. of Mich.), and by 1916 it had forced the Ladies' Library out of business. The ladies donated their Huron St. building and the collection of over 5000 books to the Ann Arbor Public Library, but did not disband their organization. It functions today as a patron or sponsor of the public library, for which it selects and purchases books in the field of fine arts, which normally would be too expensive for the library's budget.

The Ladies' Library as a Type

There was nothing unique about Ann Arbor's Ladies' Library Association. Public or semi-public libraries organized and operated by groups of women were scattered over at least 8 states during the 1800's. About half of them were in Michigan. They also existed in Massachusetts, Illinois, Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, New Hampshire and California. Michigan had at least 60 ladies' libraries, of which only six seem to have been established before mid-1866,- which makes the Ann Arbor Ladies' Library something of a pioneer. Most Michigan ladies' libraries were founded between 1868 and 1875, and grew up mostly in small towns. By present-day standards they were small: most of them never had more than 3000 volumes. Only two, Lapeer and Ypsilanti, reached 5000 volumes before 1900. In that year the Ann Arbor Ladies' Library had 3750 volumes.

Despite the similarity of purpose and organization of many ladies' libraries in Michigan, there is no record that they ever formed a state or regional organization. The standardized form of name adopted by so many of them ("The Ladies' Library Association of _____") may have been adopted in imitation of YMCA's, temperance societies, and other social groups which were locally autonomous but which wanted to demonstrate their spiritual connection with a national or state movement.

Most ladies' libraries, in Michigan at any rate, were "subscription" or "association" libraries. They were supported by annual dues and by fees charged to outsiders, rather than by sale of stock or by public funds. Association libraries organized and operated by men were quite common during the 1800's, so as far as the practical work of organizing went, the ladies were following a familiar pattern.

The ladies' libraries were sometimes operated to serve a ladies' literary society, but far more frequently as a community service. Probably most of them encouraged men to become members, as the Ann Arbor Association did, but few allowed men to vote or hold office. Even the associations which discriminated against men in their borrowing or membership rules at first, usually modified the rules in later years to give equal service to men and women, and frequently also relaxed the rules regarding non-members and transients. The associations were usually incorporated, and often would acquire their own building, if they lived long enough. Most of them have by now either died out or changed their form of organization, and their places have been taken by libraries more closely associated with local governments.

Ladies libraries had a source of income not available to the ordinary association library: money raised by means of public entertainments. Perhaps without this source of income they could not have succeeded as well as they did in such small towns. Their average life was only 30-35 years, which was normal for association libraries; but their collections were larger than one might expect to find in such small towns in the 1800's. The ladies' libraries for which information is available always reached several hundred volumes and sometimes reached several thousand. Still, one wonders how the Ann Arbor Ladies' Library, which did not rely heavily on entertainments, found as much success as it did

The Social Setting

The townspeople probably thought of the Association in the same terms as they did any ladies' aid society or sewing circle. The members themselves were more aware of the primary function of the group, which was to furnish books to the community. In their own words:

> The object of this Association shall be to establish and maintain a Library, and to afford other means of moral, intellectual, and social improvement. (Book of Minutes, April 1870)

But in order to raise money to buy the books, the group had to give socials, festivals, skits, and concerts, to which they charged admission. The Michigan Argus advertised one of their earlier entertainments thus:

> A musical treat is in store for our citizens. On Friday and Saturday evenings next, Bradbury's beautiful cantata, "Esther, the Beautiful Queen," will be performed...The perfomers number about sixty-five ladies and gentlemen of our city, including the best singers of the several choirs...full Jewish and Persian costume... (Mich. Argus, Nov. 9 & 16, 1866)

For various reasons it was a social group as well, whose members enjoyed eachother's company, and who displayed a loyalty for eachother which is like that of one guild member for another. It was a socially homogeneous group of upper class and upper middle-class women, who had frequent social contact outside the group as well, and whose social life consisted largely of cultural and philanthropic activities. The group had a tendency to become homogeneous with respect to age, too. Around 1881 they passed a by-law specifying that three members of the board had to be young ladies.

Aside from the fact that it was a women's organization, there was nothing unusual about the association: the members annually elected a board of directors numbering 15, including a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. The board appointed the librarian from among the members at large. She was often an unmarried woman. There were committees for selecting and buying books, fitting up the library room, putting on entertainments, and so forth. In other words, the board of directors then did everything which would now be done by a board of trustees, librariah, library staff, and "friends of the library" group. Decisions were made as a body and executed by means of committees. There was an annual membership meeting in the spring.

Because it was a women's organization, however, at a time when the role of women was changing, and when the women's suffrage movement was 20 years old and gaining momentum, there were certain pressures and attitudes in the community which the ladies had to cope with.

The front page of the Michigan Argus, which carried features and human interest stories, had one or more articles every week in the late 1860's on "Woman's Nature," "Women as Workers," and other topics related to the role of women. They give the impression that people were concerned about the rapid social changes then taking place, especially the likelihood that not only negroes, but also women would get the vote. Some people may have thought that library work, previously monopolized by man, was being used as an opening wedge by women who wanted to dominate local politics. There were certain signs of a connection between ladies' libraries and the New Woman, to be sure. In November, 1869, the newly organized Woman's Suffrage Association of Ann Arbor had at least three members who were also active in the Ladies' Library Association: Mrs. A. E. Kellogg, Mrs. Edwin Lawrence, and Mrs. Abram Sager. And the Coldwater Ladies' Library Association, showing an awareness of a connection in the mind of the public, reported:

> But one entertainment was attempted the first year -- a Fourth of July celebration, which was barely successful. It failed to receive general support by reason of a misapprehension of its character, some timid hearts apparently fearing lest, unawares, they were to be entrapped into some Woman's Rights movement. (Bixby, p. 50)

Mark Twain lumped together the ideas of women's organizations and the suffrage movement:

> I have read the long list of lady petitioners ~~of~~ in favor of female suffrage, and as a husband and a father I want to protest against the whole business. It will never do to allow them to vote...It will never do to allow them to hold office...They like to hold office too well. They like to be Mrs. President Smith of the Dorcas Society, or Mrs. Secretary Jones of the Hindoo Aid Association, or Mrs. Treasurer of something or other...They are always setting up sanctified confederations of all kinds, and then running for President of them. They are even so fond of

office that they are willing to serve without pay...I do not want the privileges of women extended, because my wife already holds office in nineteen different infernal female associations, and I have to do all her clerking... (Mich. Argus, April 6, 1867)

Despite these signs and comments there is no reason to believe that ladies' libraries had any political program or significance.

Still, one gains the impression that the ladies were thought a bit too progressive, first in dealing in a matter as practical as a library, and second in inviting men to join a group which was open to the public and not sponsored by the church. At that time, women's organizations had been concerned only with non-practical affairs, such as art, self-improvement, or charity. Sometimes, as Ladies' auxiliaries, they supplemented the efforts of men's organizations in civic affairs, but, until they started the library, they had never entered the arena directly in normal times by operating anything that might be considered a utility or public service. Moreover, at that time very few groups had mixed membership. Except for the state fair committees, the temperance society, the Bible society, and some church groups, voluntary associations in Ann Arbor were composed of men or of women, but not of both. Probably none but the most respected and socially prominent women could have gotten away with such an innovation. It seems that there was some pressure to keep the association out of the civic arena, to turn it into an innocuous self-improvement society, as indeed some of the ladies' libraries were.

The following excerpts from the Michigan Argus and from the Association's Book of Minutes tell how the organization was founded in 1866. Phrases are emphasized to show differences in conceptions of its future role. First, an announcement by the editor of the paper, Mr. E. B. Pond:

> We would remind our lady readers of the call for a meeting to be held on Monday next, at 3 o'clock, P.M., in the Lecture Room of the Presbyterian Church, for the purpose of organizing a Ladies' Library Association. We are confident that such an Association once established will grow into favor more and more with every passing year, and that it will do much towards developing and improving the intellectual tastes of the Mothers and daughters of our city. (Mich. Argus, Mar. 16, 1866)

The next week the ladies reported the meeting:

> Ann Arbor Library Association
>
> Agreeably to notice, a meeting of much interest was held on Monday, P.M., to organize a Library Association. Thirty-five ladies subscribed their names, adopted the constitution, and elected the following officers:
>
> President - Mrs. E. A. [i.e., A. E.] Kellogg
> Vice-President - Mrs. E. M. Henriques
> Secretary - Mrs. A. H. Hunt
> Treasurer - Miss Kate Hale
>
> ...The sum of one hundred and eighteen dollars was subscribed. A subscription list [will] be left at each of the book-stores for such gentlemen as may wish to become members of the association. (Mich. Argus, Mar. 23, 1866)

Editor Pond's chivalrous but determined comments on the above report were:

> ...We beg leave to suggest that the ladies, in selecting a name, were entirely too modest. It should have been called the "Ladies' Library Association." [Emphasis his.] The managers need not fear its growing beyond their capacity to

> manage it, egen though their highest anticipations are realized, and need guard against no jealousy or want of co-operation from the gentlemen of our city. As the originators of the movement, they are entitled to a name that will give them the credit, and we suggest a change. (Mich. Argus, Mar. 23, 1866)

They changed the name. They continued, however, to emphasize in their annual reports that the library existed to serve the whole community. (Book of Minutes, April, 1868 and 1869)

The Members

If the entire membership list had only been preserved, as well as the names of the board members, a great deal could be said about the extent to which different elements in the population came into contact with the library. However, we can only guess that that contact must have been fairly limited. Literacy was not as widespread then as it is now, and many people must have found beyond their means the three-dollar initial membership fee, which entitled one to take out books from the library. The 200 or so members of the Association in 1870 may have included nearly all the well-educated, well-off people in town who did not have access to the University of Michigan Library, and many of those who did. The membership never rose very far above 200, to judge from the fact that it stabilized at 225 during 1901-1903. How many of these members were men is not recorded.

The membership seems to have grown faster than the number of people who actually used the library, which would indicate a certain number of "duty" memberships. If there were 2400 adults in town in 1869, out of an estimated non-student population of 7100, then 7% of them were members of the Association. But probably no more than 5% used the library that year (the Book of Minutes gives 176 as the membership that year, and an estimate of 100 as the number of users is obtained by extrapolation from the figures for 1870 and 1871). But 5% is not very much less than the proportion of the population that uses libraries today in the country as a whole!

The names of women who signed the constitution or served as board members during this early period have been preserved, and are listed in Table 1. It is easy to see that it was a select group. Most of them had husbands who paid income tax, in a period when less than 5% of the town's incomes were large enough to be taxable. Most of the women had successful or influential husbands or families, in business or the professions, or in local or state politics. Mr. Beakes, Mr. Douglass, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Wells were all mayors of Ann Arbor at one time or another. Messrs. Adams, Cooley, Denton, Douglass, Sager, and Ten Brook were professors at the University of Michigan (Ten Brook, however, was not teaching but was the librarian). Messrs. Pond, Porter, Sutherland, and others were aldermen at some time in their lives; and so on.

Having children in the family was apparently no handicap to the wife's library activities. Mrs. Cooley had six children, Mrs. Douglass seven, and Mrs. Pond at least four. Neither was lack of library experience a handicap.

The essential qualifications for these women were money, prestige, and influence. Without these qualifications in the Association's leaders, the library could not have survived, because it was not an economically feasible enterprise. Like a present-day symphony orchestra, it needed a group to sponsor it, to solicit donations through personal connections with sources of wealth, and to divert income to it from other enterprises (public entertainments) that were economically feasible.

Probably this group included almost every woman in town who had wealth, prestige or influence, and they all appear to have worked peaceably together despite the controversies and different convictions that divided the men of the town. The minutes of the first six years contain not a hint of the storms of opinion caused by the admission of women to the university, the setting up of a homeopathic college on campus, or any other community issue.

A short search has revealed much information on their husbands, but little on the women themselves.

The Association's first president, Mrs. A. E. Kellogg, was probably a widow, since the 1868 city directory lists her under her own name, separately. She was not the wife of the clairvoyant Dr. Kellogg. She lived on Ann Street, between Fifth Avenue and Division. She was a member of the Ladies' Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association, and the Woman's Suffrage Association. We know very little else about her.

Mrs. Cooley was the Association's second president, taking office in 1870. As Mary Elizabeth Horton of Adrian, she married the 22-year-old Thomas Cooley in 1846. In 1859 they moved to Ann Arbor, and their house stood where the Union now is, on State Street near the end of South University. She had six children, and entertained socially a great deal. Mr. E. B. Pond, in his diary, records frequent visits to the Cooleys. She died in 1890, ten years before her youngest child got her Ph B. The Ladies' Library Association minutes in 1891 have an "In Memoriam" that describes her as bright, animating, helpful and cheerful.

Mrs. Douglas , who was on the board till her death in 1880, was described by her fellows in a similar tribute as "quiet and retiring." The Douglas home on Huron Street, west of State, is now the Baptist Guild House.

Mrs. Henning was married to one of the three richest men in town at the time (the other two were Dr. Chase and Mr. Maloney). David Henning dealt in stocks and bonds, and may have had a farm besides. When Mrs. Henning died in Chicago in 1889 he sent the Association $1000 in her memory.

Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence belonged to the "liberal set" in town. It was they who entertained Emerson when he came to Ann Arbor in 1860. Mr. Lawrence opposed religious exercises in the Union School, because he advocated separation of church and state. Pond's diary for July 21, 1867, says:

> To church in evening. An excellent discourse by Dr. Livermore.
> Too much Christ in it for Lawrence and his set. Makes them growl.

Sybil Lawrence was president of the Woman's Suffrage Association, organized in 1869, and had been president of the Soldiers' Aid Society during the war. In 1867 she was president of the newly organized Ladies' Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association. Despite this experience in office, she was not overly talkative. On New Year's Day, 1868, when members of the Bar and County Officers called to give the Judge a gold-headed cane and Mrs. Lawrence a chromo, the conversation ran about as follows:

> Judge Beakes -- Mrs. Lawrence, in behalf of the Bar and County Officers, and as a token of their respect and esteem, [I] present to you this chromo.
> Mrs. L. -- My husband will reply for me.
> The Judge -- Not at all; a woman who goes in for woman's rights and women's suffrage must make her own speeches.
> Mrs. L. -- I will when I have taken lessons in elocution.
> (Mich. Argus., Jan. 3, 1868)

Not very much is known about Mrs. Porter. An entry from the July 2, 1869, social reading minutes says, "Mrs. Porter gave another original paper in her usual sprightly and chatty style." She was the librarian of the Ladies' Library in 1869 and 1870 (and perhaps some time between 1872 and 1878, but since that book of minutes is lost we have no way of knowing). She and Miss Porter (who may have been her daughter Alice) were taking care of the library in 1879, just before the Porters moved out of town -- perhaps to Bay City, where in 1880 a Charles B. Porter joined the Presbyterian Church.

Mrs. Sager was Sarah E. Dwight, of Detroit, before she married in 1838. She may also have been the Sarah Dwight who was a charter member of the Presbyterian Church in Dexter in 1830. Her husband, born 1810, was professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children. She was a member of the Woman's Suffrage Association. She signed the constitution of the Ladies' Library Association, but was not on the board in 1866 or 1870. She had eight children, of whom the two longest-lived were Cynthia A. and Susan A. (Mrs. Hardy).

Mrs. Ten Brook, a widow, married Prof. Ten Brook in 1868, a year and a half after his first wife died. His first wife might have been one of the 1866 founders of the Ladies' Library.

Table I

Ann Arbor Ladies' Library Association - Signatories to Constitution and Board Members, 1866 and 1870

Name	Age in 1866	Husband's occupation
Adams, Mrs. Charles K.		Professor of History
Beakes, Mrs. H. J. (Sarah C. Swathel)	45	Judge of Probate
Burton, Mrs.		
Chapin, Mrs. Norman		Hardware merchant, 1872
Clark, Mrs. Martin		Baker & grocer
*Cooley, Mrs. Thomas M. (Mary Elizabeth Horton)	37?	Professor of Law
DeForest, Mrs. Andrew	45	Proprietor of drug store
Denton, Mrs. Samuel D. (Martha)	55	Professor of Medicine
*Douglass, Mrs. Silas H. (Helen Welles)	45	M.D., Chemist, Geologist
Ellis, Mrs. Richard W. (Ella E.)	17	Proprietor of drug store
Fenley, Mrs. D. H.		
Fuller, Miss Laura		
*Gilmore, Mrs. Lewis B.		Bookseller
Hale, Miss Kate N.		
Henion, Mrs. Samuel N.		Proprietor drygoods store
Henning, Mrs. David		Cooper
*Henriques, Mrs. Emanuel M. (Sarah M.)		
Hill, Mrs. George D.		Farmer, miller
*Hunt, Mrs. Alfred H. (Sarah W.)		
Jennings, Mrs. J. F.		
*Kellogg, Mrs. A. E.		
*Lawrence, Mrs. Edwin (Sibyl)	47	Circuit Judge
Maynard, Miss Abby (daughter of Wm. S.)	34	
Maynard, Mrs. John Wesley	48	Drygoods merchant, 1860
Merritt, Mrs.		
Millen, Mrs. Chauncey H.	41?	Drygoods merchant
Miller, Mrs. John F.		Bookseller, banker
*Pond, Mrs. Elihu B. (Mary Barlow Allen)		Pub. of Mich. Argus
*Porter, Mrs. Charles B.		Dentist
Porter, Miss (Alice?)	17 in 1870	

Table I, cont.

Richmond, Mrs. Charles H.		Banker
Sager, Mrs. Abram (Sarah E. Dwight)		Professor & Physician
Sinclair, Mrs. William M. (Eliza)	48	Miller
Sutherland, Mrs. Andrew J. (Lizza)	37	Broker & lumber dealer
Swathel, Mrs. J. S.		Miller
Ten Brook, Mrs. Andrew		Librarian of the University
Wells, Mrs. Ebenezer		Physician
Welles, Mrs. Henry W.		Hardware merchant, 1860

* Most active members; were on board both in 1866 and in 1870.

Income

Table 2

Total Income of the Association and Amount Raised by Entertainments, 1866-1870.

Year	Total	From Entertainments
1866-67	$780.79	$453.00
1867-68	399.72	?
1868-69	360.06	33.00
1869-70	377.07	0.00
1870-71	309.00	4.68

Table 2 shows how the income of the Association fell during its first five years, a normal thing for a new organization that depends on gifts and subscriptions to get started. It is unusual that the Ann Arbor ladies were able to raise a total of only eleven cents per inhabitant during their first year, whereas the ladies of Coldwater, Corunna, Plainwell, and Marshall (all smaller towns, whose libraries were founded in the 1860's) were able to collect 28 cents per inhabitant.*

The members struggled to raise money for the Association during the first two years, racking their brains and investing numberless hours in projects that yielded uncertain returns. The 1868 minutes are full of suggestions for other ways of making money: sponsoring lectures, raising the annual fee, printing and passing out a circular calling upon the people of the town for support, and even a hint for tax support from the city, which was apparently not followed up by an outright request. Here are some excerpts from the book of minutes for 1868, to illustrate the dilemma in their own words:

> ...It is very desirable so to increase the number of books as to make it attractive to a larger number of subscribers and render it self-supporting, as well as to place it on an equality with similar institutions in other cities.
>
> ...We feel greatly encouraged by what has already been accomplished. Still it is a question not easily solved, and one occasioning much anxious thought to your Committee, how shall the funds necessary to carry on this enterprise more successfully be obtained? The lecture field seems closed against us - entertainments of a social character have not proved successful, and nothing seems left but to appeal to the good sense and patronage of the community.

* These figures, and those in the last paragraph of this paper, were calculated on the basis of a sample of 16 ladies' libraries founded before, or within three years after, the Ann Arbor Library. Ann Arbor was one of the largest towns, and its ladies' library was one of the longest-lived, of the sample.

> We ardently hope the time may not be distant when the city authorities may see the importance of making an annual appropriation for the support of an institution which is already a public benefit. How much more shall it be so when it can be supported as a Free Library open to all. (Book of Minutes, April 1868)

In later years they were more successful in the field of entertainments, from which their income between 1886 and 1891 averaged $150 a year.

The Social Readings

Part of the purpose of the Ladies' Library Association was "to encourage useful and entertaining reading, and other means of moral and intellectual improvement in the city of Ann Arbor." To this end, they held frequent social readings at the houses of members. Each person was supposed to bring something interesting to read aloud to the group. It might be poetry or prose, original or not original, and on any of a variety of subjects. It might be a memorized recitation or an informal talk. When the weather was good, five to twenty members would come, and they had a good time, to judge from the brief minutes they kept, of which the following is a sample:

> Mrs. Raymond read Hood's "Lost Heir" with telling effect as the excited mirthfulness of the hearers testified...The remainder [of the evening] was spent in cheerful and not unprofitable conversation. (Book of Minutes, Oct. 3, 1870)

The Library's Location

Between 1866 and 1870, the Ladies' Library was housed in two successive locations, both of which were rooms above stores on Main Street, rented for $50 per year. At the March, 1866, board meeting they decided to rent a small room in "Hangsterfer's new block," on the southwest corner of Main and Washington, to house the books they were going to buy. A week later they held their first meeting in the new room. By the next fall it had a bookcase in it, with two to three hundred books; no table, but a carpet, stove, fuel, and "gasalier" (presumably for illumination).

On the last day of April, 1867, another office building with space to rent opened its doors, and soon afterward the ladies moved out of Mr. Hangsterfer's room and into a room in the new building, above the First National Bank at 22 South Main Street, only a stone's throw from the first room. Probably they needed a larger room for their growing collection and membership.

The collection was moved a total of five times before it was moved into the Association's new Huron Street building in the '80's.

The Librarians

April 23, 1866, to Nov., 1866	Miss Sarah Berry (She resigned for reasons not recorded)
Nov., 1866, to May, 1867	Probably Miss Henriques
May, 1867, to June, 1869	Miss Henriques
June, 1869, to May, 1870	Mrs. C. B. Porter, with Mrs. Adams' assistance
May, 1870, to April, 1871	Mrs. Adams. Her assistant was not recorded

The librarian's job involved a lot of work, but required no special training or skill. All problems and decisions were referred to the board of directors. From 1866 to 1869 she was paid $25 a year, and after that, $40, which she divided equally with her assistant.

There was no impersonal, bureaucratic atmosphere for the people who worked in the Ladies' Library. Their problems got individual attention from the board (of which they might also be members). Here is an example from the Book of Minutes:

May 16, 1879.

A special board meeting was held at the library...

The president stated that Mrs. and Miss Porter felt hurt by what seemed to them a lack of confidence upon the part of the Board in their conduct of the Library and intended to resign. They were in the habit of doing a great deal of work out of Library hours and as there were but few at the room on Saturday morning, they felt that one Librarian could do the work there at that time with perfect ease, and that complaints of delay were without just cause.

...A very great degree of satisfaction in the general conduct of the library under the present librarians was expressed, and it was felt that the resignation of Mrs. Porter would be a great detriment to the library. From the representations made, it seemed clear to the board that for the present it was not necessary for Miss Porter to be at the room during the morning. The Secretary was requested to inform Mrs. Porter of this unanimous sentiment of the board.

Adjourned.

The Collection

The books were grouped under twelve broad subject headings, according to the catalog printed in 1873. The largest category was fiction (29%), and the next largest was "miscellaneous" (27%; and it included much fiction as well as reference books and genuine miscellany).

In all major divisions there were books of every grade of quality, ranging all the way from classic to trivial. The "Youth's Department," for instance, listed on three pages of the catalog not only Alice in Wonderland, Little Women, Arabian Nights, Gulliver's Travels, Water Babies, and all the rest one might expect in a good library, but also thirty books by Oliver Optic, the modern counterparts of which would be comic books, probably.

The collection emphasized books for children, and books by and about women, as one might expect, since the women understood the reading needs of women and children better than they did those of men.

The periodicals for which they had the longest runs by 1873 were the Eclectic, Hours at Home, Littell's Living Age, Atlantic Monthly, and Putnam's. Their counterparts today would be the Reader's Digest, Ladies' Home Journal, and Harper's.

Every effort was made to preserve and account for every book. Inventory was a serious business, and readers were discouraged from touching the books. It was not customary in American libraries until decades later for the reader to select the book he wanted directly from the shelf. Printed catalogs were provided, at a reasonable price, to aid in choosing books, and the librarian brought the books from the shelves to the readers.

In 1869 the library was open from 3 to 5 on Saturday (not until 1882 did they have daily opening hours), and the rules were:

Each member may draw one Book and retain same two weeks.

Any member retaining a Book longer than two weeks, shall pay a fine of one dime per week.

Anyone defacing or injuring a Book, shall pay such damages as shall be assessed by the Board of Directors.

Any person losing a Book, shall pay the cost of the same.
No member shall be permitted to draw Books till such fines are paid.
No one shall lend the Books of this Library [i.e., to another person].

The size of the collection reached 1000 volumes early in 1872. Twelve percent of the 1000 volumes had been donated.

Most ladies' libraries founded in the sixties in Michigan had, by their third year, about one book for every five inhabitants of the town. The Coldwater association had as many as one for every three. But the Ann Arbor association had only one book for every eleven inhabitants, even though the absolute number of books was greater than most ladies' libraries had. It would be hard to tell why this difference existed among the associations. It had nothing to do with the size of the town, the number of entertainments given each year, or the date of founding. Other possible but unexplored reasons are the amount of total wealth in town, the extent to which the library served the whole community, and the demand for a public library.

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HIRAM WRIGHT - BOTANIC PHYSICIAN OF SALINE
A paper read by W. J. Bonk, at the November 30, 1961 meeting of the Society

For the sake of a clearly recognizable organization, I have decided to address myself to four questions in speaking about Dr. Hiram Wright: (1) Who was Dr. Wright? (2) What was the botanic medicine he practiced? (3) What was the Botanic Luminary? (4) What problems did the good doctor face in his efforts to advance the Botanic cause in Michigan Territory?

Who was Dr. Hiram Wright?

Before making any comments about the gentleman himself, I must stop to make a preliminary remark about his title. The "Dr." which prefaces his name must not be misunderstood to represent what the modern title of doctor of medicine does. His title does not mean that he had had four years of college, followed by three or four years of medical school, followed by a year of interneship, with a possible three years of residency in some specialty. His title does not necessarily - as far as Botanic physicians are concerned - represent any specialized training at all. The title meant - for many botanics - a "do-it-yourself" degree; that is, it was self-awarded. In the course of this discussion, whenever I refer to the botanic doctors, or to specific people like Dr. Thomas F. Dodge or Dr. S. Wilson King, the reader must keep in mind that these gentlemen are all self-made doctors.

Dr. Hiram Wright first appears in the documentary evidence connecting him with Michigan Territory in an advertisement of November 1, 1834, announcing that he is practicing botanic medicine. The advertisement was carried in the November 1, 1934, issue of the Emigrant. Dr. Wright announced that he had been appointed special agent for Michigan Territory to sell botanic books and medicines. Advertisements of 1835 indicate that he is still active; and, in 1836, the Botanic Luminary appeared, furnishing the most extensive documentary evidence concerning the man and his work.

His editorials and comments in the Luminary furnish the largest body of information concerning the good doctor, although a letter to John Allen is also extant, which casts some light on his character. What kind of man emerges from these few pieces of written and printed evidence? Dr. Wright was a good example of the nineteenth century idealist and reformer. He was honest, zealous, earnest, an

impassioned adherent of causes which needed championing. He was quick of mind, sharp of tongue, and eager to help a suffering humanity. In addition, he was stubborn, wilful, proud, and intelligent, optimistic in his view of the possibilities afforded by human government and human understanding. He was - to sum up his most important characteristic - a seeker after justice in this vale of tears.

Dr. Wright had been a Baptist preacher, but, caught up by an enthusiasm for religious reform, he became a Campbellite (Disciple of Christ) and was a public teacher in that church. Urged on by his need to effect change, he turned his enthusiasm to the reform of medicine and embraced the botanic cause. But if one asks, was he short or tall? fat or thin? pleasant or severe in his ordinary dealings with people? no answer can be given. No description of him has survived, and what can be induced about him must be gleaned from the cold and aging pages he left behind.

What was Botanic medicine?

Botanic medicine was a system of practice established by Samuel Thomson, a New Hampshire man (1769-1843). It is an example of an indigenous system of American medical treatment. It laid great stress on the care of the stomach, on the eating of good food to keep one healthy. Disease was the result of poison - and so the botanics resorted to sweating, purging, and vomiting to drive poisons out of their patients' systems. There was one stipulation laid down firmly by Thomson - all remedies must be natural medicines, and by that he meant vegetable remedies. He apparently did not believe that mineral medicines were "natural."

But it would be a mistake to think that botanic medicine was just a parallel system of treatment in relation to regular medicine. It was really a crusade, aimed at a complete overthrow of the "mineral doctors," as the botanics called the regular M.D.'s. It fought the monopoly power granted to regular physicians by the licensing laws of the states and territories of the United States. It sought to end the "therapeutic mayhem" which all too often characterized medical practice in the early nineteenth century.

It must be remembered that standard medical practice of the time was awe-inspiring at its best, and terrifying at its worst. Doctors made use of such drugs as calomel, arsenic, nitre, antimony, opium, tartar emetic, but the early part of the century resorted to massive doses of these powerful drugs, coupled with extensive blood-letting. If the disease were not sufficient to kill a patient, the doctors' remedies seemed quite likely to. There was a widespread fear of the physician, and it was Dr. Wright's hope that he could lift this heavy burden from the shoulders of men.

But it would also be a mistake to think of botanic medicine as a purely medical movement. It was confused, in the minds of his adherents, with religious motives. This was, after all, a period of great religious fervor, as the appearance of the Campbellites, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Church of the Latter Day Saints can attest. And somehow, in the minds of those who supported botanic medicine, it was part and parcel of this cleansing of the world. The case was best stated by Robert Edmunds, of Saline, in a letter to the Luminary, published in the first number of the first volume (July, 1836):

> I rejoice in the progress of the Botanic cause from the consideration that it is one of the great reformations now going on which are to prepare the world for Messiah's reign, fully believing that the old regular mineral practice of medicine must be overthrown or abolished before that prophecy will be fulfilled, which declares that there shall be nothing to hurt or offend in all the holy mountain.

There was a third set of attitudes closely connected with the thinking of the botanics, and this involved nothing less than the nature of democracy itself. This was the age of "Jacksonian democracy," which can stand - however inaccurately - for an attitude which glorifies the common man, fears and hates monopolies of all kinds, and indulges in some hatred at least for the moneyed class and for all special privileges. Adherents of this egalitarian view believed in equal rights, equal privileges, and the same laws for all. The satisfaction in Jackson's election felt by such thinkers was expressed succinctly by one man who said that with the election of Jackson, the dynasty of Virginia aristocrats and Massachusetts lawyers had been driven from the White House. Dr. Wright himself had some definite views on the matter, which he expressed in the June, 1838, issue of the Luminary:

> It has been often said that Dr. Thomson was an illiterate man, consequently incapable of making improvement in medical science - that none but the ignorant and fanatical had embraced his system of practice. To those charges we reply, that nearly all the most important discoveries have been made, not by the professedly learned...but by the laborious class of society.

To the botanic physicians, it was a shocking travesty on democracy to have medical practice restricted to those who could pass examinations and be licensed. All men, no matter how ignorant and uneducated, were clearly able to do anything they set their hearts to. It was unnatural and tyrannical to restrict medical practice to those who could demonstrate a period of legal training.

So one must mix up in one bottle a medical crusade, a religious crusade, and a political crusade, shake well, and administer to the suffering public. Dosage and frequency? Unlimited.

What was the Botanic Luminary?

The Luminary was a small periodical published from July 1, 1836, to July (?), 1838. Out of a total of approximately 20 issues (the closing date is not known with certainty), 17 have survived. Twelve of the surviving issues are to be found in the William L. Clements Library; five additional issues are located in the National Library of Medicine. These 17 surviving copies are Dr. Wright's monument and testament -- his voice of reform -- his propoganda vehicle in Michigan Territory. Into the bargain, it is the earliest extant medical periodical of Michigan, which gives it great importance in the history of Michigan periodical publishing.

At this point I would like to digress a moment to relate the story of some unsuccessful researching. I have called this the earliest "extant" medical periodical in Michigan. For a time, I thought it was the earliest medical periodical of any kind, extant or not. But in the third issue of the Luminary (September, 1836), Dr. Wright notes that he has learned from the "Bot. Ref. and Veg. Her." that a case was recently brought in the county of St. Joseph, Michigan, by two "regular scientific doctors of that county." At first I thought he was quoting from one of the many other botanic periodicals issued outside Michigan. But a little searching revealed that Samuel W. Durant, in his History of Kalamazoo County, remarked that "as early as 1835 there was a paper published by Dr. Bennett, called the Vegetable Herald, devoted to the spread of vegetable medicines; it did not continue long."

I continued to hope that there might have been some mistake about the date, but I thought I had better look farther. I sent a letter to the Kalamazoo Public Library, asking if they had any information about, or laus Deo! any copies of the Vegetable Herald. Their long and very helpful (but dismaying) reply indicated that an advertisement for Dr. Bennett's magazine was first located in the January 2, 1836, issue of the Michigan Statesman - but they noted that it was dated November

24, 1835. It seemed conclusive evidence that the Vegetable Herald antedated the Luminary by at least 8 months. They were also able to supply the doctor's full name - Amariah Bennett - and a wonderful anecdote giving some clue as to the medical skill of this botanic:

> He attended a council of physicians at Schoolcraft at one time, at which some of the regular-school doctors, thinking to quiz the old man, asked him what he would prescribe for a severe case of corns. The old man gravely replied: "I would give the patient, first, a dose of lobelia [an emetic], and repeat it at the end of an hour. At the end of the second hour, I would give him - lobelia, when doubtless the corns would be cast off!"

In addition to this helpful information, the reference staff suggested that I might find a copy of the Vegetable Herald among the papers of the late Liberty Hyde Bailey, as they understood that he had had a good collection of early Michigan botanic materials.

I sent off a letter post-haste to Miss Kathleen Jacklin, Associate Curator and Archivist of the Collection of Regional History of Cornell University. She searched Professor Bailey's papers, but found no copy of the Vegetable Herald. Going beyond the call of duty, she sought the aid of Miss Ethel Zoe Bailey, daughter of Liberty Hyde Bailey, but Miss Bailey had no information about the elusive periodical. And so the trail ended. But I am sure that copies of the Vegetable Herald must have survived, that some attic in Michigan probably has at least one issue, if not a full file. I urge all readers of this article to appoint themselves my agents in a search for Michigan's earliest medical periodical - and what may well be the first magazine published in Michigan.

To return to the Luminary. Dr. Wright published the first volume of the magazine, but, with the first number of the second volume (December, 1837) it was announced that he had sold the magazine, his botanic books and magazines, to Drs. Thomas F. Dodge and S. Wilson King. Dr. Wright himself left for Ohio, where he died five months later (May, 1838). With the third number of volume II, Dodge and King issued a plea for money from their subscribers, pointing out that there was still $300 due on the printing of the first volume. After printing three numbers of the second, they had not received enough money to pay for one issue. In June, 1838, they returned to this theme, saying that almost $1000 was now due. They concluded their plea with the following prophetic words: "We are aware that the 'times are hard', and that many of our patrons, ere this, would have forwarded the 'needful' could they have known what kind of money to send. To obviate this difficulty, we here state, that the bills of such banks as are taken in deposit at the Detroit banks will be taken in payment for the Luminary. Cash we must have or -- STOP!!!"

Only one issue beyond this one is extant. It does not seem likely that subscribers had failed to pay because they did not know what kind of money the Luminary would accept. After all, 1837 had seen the country in the grip of a severe depression and the economy of Michigan Territory had been laid low. Cash was a most precious commodity, and the Luminary shared the fate of many newspapers and magazines of the period, whose subscribers somehow could not find the money for such a luxury. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Botanic Luminary ceased publication with the issue of July, 1838, and thus Dr. Wright's urgent voice for medical reform came to an ignominious end.

What Problems faced the Botanics in Michigan?

In describing the difficulties which the botanics had to overcome, I believe it would be most effective to quote some of the editorials written by Dr. Wright.

This will not only give one an idea of the issues involved, but, more importantly, will communicate some of the emotions stirred up by the opposition to botanic medicine. It will help one to feel, as well as to realize, the conflict which was engendered by Dr. Wright's activities.

In the second issue of the Luminary (August, 1836), Dr. Wright adverted to the opposition to his paper:

> We learn that there has been considerable squirming in some places, among the Mineral Craft and others, in consequence of the appearance of this work. But why so much foaming, fretting, and raging? Why so much resentment to so unpopular a production as the Luminary purports to be? Does the publication of this work so affect your interest that you are like to lose some of your gains? Or do you think that by raising a hue and cry among your dupes, against us, you will effect our downfall? Does the Truth cut so close that you cannot withstand it? Doubtless these interrogations will be readily answered by a discerning public.

To all such opposition, Dr. Wright had a firm bit of advice for his adherents: "Thomsonians should not be deterred from their laudable endeavors to do good by a few bad clauses in our Statute Books, by the sneers of the 'Medical Faculty,' or by the sour looks and wry faces of the ignorant multitude."

He had to defend himself against comments in Michigan newspapers, including those of the editor of the Peninsular, who had announced the painful duty of informing his readers that a Miss Phebe W. Rice had died, "another victim to Lobelia and No. 6, which latter would be more aptly named, were it called Hell broth, for a more villanous compound could not be devised for the torture of a suffering humanity." Dr. Wright's answer was forthright, if not very restrained: "Such contemptible stuff should never appear in the columns of any respectable newspaper. They are intended to mislead the people, and are the froth and scum of ignorance and vulgarity."

The very next issue (September, 1836) saw him returning to an attack delivered by the editor of the Adrian Watch Tower, who reported the death of William Roath, age 35 "another victim of Lobelia and No. 6." Dr. Wright's answer is again not notable for its restraint:

> The above is another specimen of the ignorance and malevolence of some of the editors of periodicals, who are busily engaged in gathering and publishing reports against the Botanic practice.
>
> The Catspaw editor of the "Adrian Watch Tower" has condescended to travel out of his own vicinity and to find tales to publish in order to prejudice the public against Thomsonians.
>
> Lobelia and No. 6 are harmless remedies, but powerful to remove disease in the hands of judicious practitioners. And though you may not believe it, the time is not far distant, when such worthies as the editor of the "Adrian Watch Tower" will have to resort to some more honest calling to obtain a livelihood than yielding himself a pliant tool to the enemies of the Botanic cause. The most wonderful of all operations in its progressive work by which the community will soon be cleared of that froth and scum of which the editor of the "Adrian Watch Tower" now forms a floating bubble.

The compound referred to as "No. 6" was Dr. Thomson's famous Rheumatic Drops, consisting of strong wine, brandy, gum myrrh, and cayenne pepper. To all those not

convinced of the poisonous nature of alcohol in itself, it seems to be a fairly harmless tonic. The number of these attacks and rejoinders could be extended considerably, but perhaps these two samples will give an indication of Dr. Wright's manner in disposing of opposition.

There were more serious difficulties encountered in the botanic practice, however, than mere argument. According to the laws of the Territory, no man could practice medicine who had not been licensed by the Territorial medical society. If he did practice, he could not legally collect his fees, and furthermore, he could be fined for each case of illegal practice. These "few bad clauses" were a real stumbling block. It was clear that the law would have to be changed. Dr. Wright busied himself forming Friendly Botanic Societies, which were to agitate for reform of the laws. A state society was formed, as well as a number of county societies. In time the law was changed, although the botanic societies had to practice the examining and licensing which they had so objected to when under the control of the regular physicians. (They did acquiesce, however.) Before the law was changed, Dr. Wright was himself involved in a law suit in an effort to collect his fee. The outcome of that case must have been a lesson to the regular physicians in the ways of Jacksonian democracy. Dr. Wright reported the results with considerable satisfaction (July, 1836): "After a full investigation of the case - the hard swearing of some of the Medical Faculty - the dishonesty of some of the witnesses, the intrigue of our enemies, and the abuse of attorneys - We, at length, after the verdict of an intelligent and impartial jury, obtained a satisfactory judgment in our favor. This is as it should be."

The jury, one must hasten to point out, looked the statutes straight in the eye - and ignored them. Dr. Wright, in an address before the Michigan State Botanic Convention at Ann Arbor (December, 1836), made the following remarks on the legal situation:

> Any act of a Legislature conferring exclusive privileges on any set of men, which disfranchises others of equal merit of the same favors, constitutes a monopolizing spirit, and, if nurtured in civilized countries, will result in a literary aristocracy - a privileged order whose ends and aims ever have been, are now, and ever will be, hostile to the equal and inalienable rights and privileges of society at large.
>
> The collusion of the Medical Faculty in Michigan, and the protection of that combination by legislative enactments, we confidently affirm to be contrary to the letter and spirit of our free institutions, and of the constitution of the United States. It is a direct violation of the oath of the legislators, who are sworn to maintain the sacred charter of our liberties.

While these arguments, violent exchanges, and legal maneuvers took place, the practice of botanic medicine grew in Michigan. At least two botanic hospitals were set up during the time the Luminary was being published. To what degree Dr. Wright and his magazine were responsible for this growth is a question beyond resolution. But the time was ripe for agitation and reform, and there is no doubt that the good doctor loved to agitate things, and he certainly felt he had a holy mission to reform medicine. Reading over the Luminary is an excellent way to bring oneself close to another age for a time, to become excited by and involved in battles long since done - to respond to the cry for liberty and justice with these unswerving and undoubting men.

For people of our own time, whose central characteristic I sometimes think is the need to qualify everything, it is a startling experience to see men totally committed to what they thought was right - with no question or doubt in their minds. And Hiram Wright, botanic physician of Saline - whatever his trials and tribulations, his difficulties and unhappy moments - possessed this glorious treasure: in the struggle between good and evil, he not only believed, he knew - he knew - that he was on the side of the angels!

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TROUBLED TIMES FOR THE UNIVERSITY -
BODY SNATCHING IN MICHIGAN
A paper read by Donald F. Huelke, M.D., Assistant Professor of Anatomy, U. of M. at the January 19, 1962, meeting of the Society

The advancement of medicine and surgery can be directly correlated with the progress of human anatomy. Human dissection is a prerequisite for medicine; when it wasn't done medicine didn't progress.

The primitive tribes of long ago did no dissecting whatsoever; they felt that the spirit within the human body could transfer itself into another person, that it could travel about, and that it could literally "strike back" at the person causing the death. They felt that they should not bother the body except to bury it.

In Egypt, around 1600 B.C., the people still had such primitive beliefs. They believed in full body reincarnation, that man was immortal, and therefore, they went to great lengths to keep the body intact. Also they favored the deceased by plabing vessels of food, their charms, and other accouterments with the body, and even buried their servants with them. Embalming, therefore, was an extremely important part of their culture. They developed this to an art - as mummification. Even today their techniques of preservation are unknown to us. The act of cutting a dead human body was frowned upon. Those responsible for embalming would go out and find a beggar in the street and pay him a small amount to make the first incision. After he did this they would chase him from the building and throw stones at him, chastising him for his act. In this manner they felt that they would be appeasing the gods by showing their wrath. However, in their embalming procedure, they did receive an insight into anatomy.

It was here in Egypt that medicine began to flourish. Alexander the Great, with his treasures of plunder and war, established a cultural center in Alexandria wherein there was a huge public library. People from all over the world came here to study medicine. However, this education consisted of study only from books and scrolls; no practical experience was available.

During the Greek and Roman periods most of the medical scholars learned and taught their anatomy from animals. Human dissection at this time was not permitted. Human skeletons were available but the soft tissue anatomy was that of animals. Some did glean a bit of anatomy by treating wounded soldiers or gladiators.

Throughout the middle ages no progress in anatomy or medicine was made. All physicians relied on the writings and teachings of Galen and Hippocrates.

In the Renaissance everything blossomed, including human anatomy. People began asking questions. Occasionally a human body was dissected. Some of the most influential people were artists. They needed to know more human anatomy to more fully appreciate the beauty of the human body. Around 1500, Leonardo da Vinci

painted, and from his works one can see that he was familiar with the human anatomy. In 1525 Vesalius, an artist and anatomist, prepared the Fabrica, a large composite atlas ofhuman anatomy. In addition, he was an excellent anatomical teacher. At this time anatomy was taught by an anatomist who, sitting at a podium, would read the anatomy; a demonstrator would do the dissection and point to the structures; the students would stand and watch. It is said that when Vesalius saw this, he walked in, pushed aside the dissector, and started to do the work himself.

The peak of interest in anatomy came about 1550-1600. At this time everyone was interested in the anatomy of the human body. Public anatomies were held which attracted huge crowds. Likewise, more students studied by dissection.

In general, on the continent of Europe most countries had little if any problems with grave robbing. There was an adequate supply of material and when the supply was inadequate, intelligent laws to secure the cadavers were passed. If a greater supply was needed, bodies were shipped in from the colonies for use by the medical students.

The only places in the world where grave robbing was a problem were two great countries - Great Britain and the United States. In Great Britain there was a tremendous interest developing in medicine throughout the 18th century. England became the center of medicine in the world. In London there were few problems in supplying the necessary material. Here were thousands of paupers, many of whom ended up in the laboratories of the medical schools. Executed felons were dissected during this time. Physicians felt a need for a greater knowledge of human anatomy and some took it upon themselves to teach the subject in their home. The doctor would hire someone to go out and dig up a grave (or he himself would do so), usually in the cemetery where bodies were interred at public expense. The need for more bodies increased between 1750 and 1800. This increase was due to: 1) anatomy becoming an independent subject with full-time professors, and 2) the rise of private and hospital schools. In the smaller areas, Edinburgh for example, bodies for dissection were difficult to obtain. The professional resurrectionists, as grave robbers were known, quickly were replaced by the low-class element who would go out, rip up a grave, and drag off the body without attempting to rearrange the burial site. They then would seek the highest price for the body. Soon they were invading the graveyards of the townspeople. Whenever such a grave would be opened, the local populace would frequently attack the physician's home and at times burn it down.

The practice of grave robbing continued. In 1828, in Edinburgh, Scotland, two men - Burke and Hare - became grave robbers. They soon took a dislike to the physical labor involved in their night work and found it easier to take home a "friend," ply him with liquor, and when he fell asleep, kill him by suffocation. They then took him to the nearest physicians' school and received a handsome price for their "fine specimen." In less than nine months they were caught. The entire country was upset by their activities. Grave-robbing became known as "Burking," a term coined from the name of one of these men. A similar situation developed three years later, and the following year, 1832, adequate anatomical laws were passed in Great Britain. After this a sufficient amount of anatomical material was supplied through legal means.

This was the time of the beginning of the Medical Schools in the United States. In general, the anatomical laws in this country were based on emotion and not on common sense. Usually these laws provided penalties for grave robbing or transportation of bodies to areas outside the state, but they did not provide a source of supply of cadavers for the medical schools.

The University of Michigan Medical School began on the first Wednesday in October, 1850. Anatomy was one of the major courses. In these early years only 15 to 20 cadavers were needed. The first two years of the Medical School the University Catalogue made no mention of "anatomical material." Yet in 1852, practical anatomy, as the dissection work was called, was made a requirement for graduation. This was the first laboratory course in the University required for graduation. In the Catalogue of 1852-53 a short sentence stated that the school had an adequate supply of anatomical material.

Realizing the threat of grave robbers, people went to great lengths to protect the graves of their relatives. Some hired a grave watcher (one who would guard the grave at night). Others had private cemeteries surrounded by brick walls on which broken glass was embedded. Metal gratings were placed over the casket so that difficulty in "raising-'em-up" would deter the robbers.

The resurrectioners or "sack-'em-up" men had their tricks of the trade. Often they would bribe the grave watcher. Other times they would dig away from the grave and tunnel to the coffin, open one end, and remove the body. The grave was seemingly undisturbed, and only months later when the ground settled did the family realize that the grave had been robbed.

In the early days of the Medical School a grave was desecrated in Jackson County and the body was traced to the Medical School. The hue and cry was raised at one of the local saloons and, when well fortified, this bar-room mob decided to burn down the Medical Building that evening. Some medical students were in the crowd and they hurried to campus, rallied their fellow students, and together they patrolled the campus that night with clubs and guns, signs and countersigns, to ward off the mob. When the attackers heard of this armed and determined group, they decided it would be better to retreat to the protective area of the saloon. The Medical Building remained.

These then were the medical students in the first years of the school. They were very devoted students to their professor. Upon opening of the Medical Department the literary students who were the "aristocracy" of the campus, informed the medics that if they behaved themselves they would be tolerated. One of the reasons for the "lits" resenting the medics was that the requirements for entrance to medical school were very easy when compared to those of the literary department. English was one of the admission requirements for the medical student; but in that so many of the medics had difficulties in this area, it was made a requirement for graduation. The medics did not take well to the attitude of their literary peers. Many of these fellows were farm lads, whereas many of the literary students were from the "house on the hill." The very first day or so the lits were going to haze the medics a bit, but when they met this first class of medics, they were not only outnumbered but "out-muscled." From that time on the medic became a respected colleague of the literary student, but not necessarily on an intellectual plane.

One of the more serious problems facing the Medical School came immediately after the Civil War when there was a tremendous influx of soldiers to the campus. In the year 1866-67 there were 525 medical students enrolled. They occupied the space which was designed to house 120.

In that Practical Anatomy was a requirement for graduation, obtaining the cadavers for the laboratory with 525 students became quite a problem. At that time, Dr. Ford, the Professor of Anatomy, wrote to Regent Gilbert concerning this problem. (It appears that the faculty went directly to the regents with their problems rather than to administrative authorities on campus.) In his letter Ford wrote about

"the material wants of the Department of Anatomy." He said that when only 15 to 25 cadavers were needed, they had no problem; but now, with these 525 students, there was a need for 125 cadavers. He said that his Demonstrator of Anatomy at that time traveled from 12 to 1500 miles a year to get the necessary specimens. This was quite a bit of traveleing in the day of the horse and buggy. The reasons he traveled so extensively were the following: The Demonstrator of Anatomy realized that to keep peace in the back yard of Ann Arbor was of prime importance. Hence this policy - don't rob a grave in Ann Arbor nor in the immediate vicinity, but get the bodies elsewhere. Although grave robbing was a very undignified profession, it was needed for the advancement of medicine. Ford continued: "He cannot go into the field in strange places, he must find men willing to undertake such illegal and dangerous work; they have been bribed and they are not reliable. Money must be spent, arrangements to escape detection must be made. After a body is received it must be boxed, carted, and transported, all by unreliable persons who must be bribed." However, this Demonstrator must have been quite enterprising for he had at least 20 to 30 people somewhere throughout the United States supplying him with this material. Later Ford, as he closes the letter to Regent Gilbert, said: "I can inform you as one of us of which as my obvious reasons we keep sacredly (not just secretly) to ourselves, even some of my colleagues do not know of our danger." And danger it was; anyone who was found robbing a grave was immediately imprisoned, if he was lucky enough to be thrown in the local jail before the mobs would viciously attack him. Grave robbers were known to have been killed not only by the mobs but also by ingenious devices which the people would put in the coffin itself, which would explode in the face of the person opening the grave.

It is interesting to find out what happened to these fellows who went into this profession of grave robbing. At one time there were three of them in the Ann Arbor area, Mr. Hill, his son, and another fellow; they were very enterprising as far as we have been able to determine. However, Mr. Hill died and was buried. The next day his son and the partner showed up at the Medical School with the chief grave digger himself.

Frequently the grave robbers were quite ingenious in that they had ways of getting out of work of digging up a grave. Often they would follow a funeral procession. (The old funerals were often all day affairs.) Cemeteries were, at times, a considerable distance from town. At times the funeral procession would stop on the way for refreshments. It was at this time that the robbery of the coffin would take place before it was put in the ground. Sometimes when they knew that a body lying in state would immediately be taken out the next morning, the robbers would go in that night, take the body out of the coffin, replace it with either dirt or stones, and put the coffin back in the carriage or in the house where they found it. By these devious ways they would save themselves all of the work of having to "go out into the field," as it was referred to.

One story of grave robbing has to do with the Wild West, especially Jesse James and his gang. The James gang joined forces with Cole Younger and his boys, forming a clan which became notorious in Western history. They robbed stagecoaches, railroads, and banks. Things became a little tight for them because the Pinkerton men were hired by the railroad police, and they either prevented robberies or else tracked the robbers down. The James-Younger gang believed that they would be safe if they stayed out of Missouri, Kansas, and Texas. Instead they went to Northfield Minnesota, to rob a bank. This bank was one of the first on the road from the Black Hills where gold was being carried out from the mines. On September 7, 1876, the James-Younger gang rode into Northfield, the home town of two Michigan medical students who were preparing for the trip back to Ann Arbor for their last year at

Medical School. One of them, H. Wheeler, was instrumental in "saving the day" by shooting and killing one of the robbers and wounding another. Another townsman killed a second outlaw. That night, while Wheeler was riding after the bandits with the posse, his fellow student, Clarence E. Persons, exhumed the bodies of the two outlaws, put each of them in a keg labeled "Fresh Paint," and shipped them to Ann Arbor. Later at the Medical School, friends of one of the bandits demanded the body and it was given to them. Wheeler and Persons dissected the other body in the anatomy laboratory. Dr. Wheeler preserved the skeleton and kept it in his office in Grand Forks, North Dakota, until about 1926, when a fire destroyed his office and the skeleton. This event occurred in 1876.

In 1875 the first semi-effective anatomical law was passed in Michigan. In 1878 three resurrectionists were caught in Toledo, Ohio; they told the police that they were completing an order for 70 bodies for the University of Michigan and that they had already sent 60 bodies to the school. Such merchandise was not sent to the University; rather, the cadavers were put in barrels marked paint, pickles, etc. These bodies were sent to such places as Quimbey & Co., or A. B. Jones & Co., fictitious names and only paper companies. Someone from the Medical School would pick up the bodies at the railroad station.

One of the most exciting stories involving the University occurred in May, 1878. In Ohio, John Scott Harrison died. He was the grandson of the 23rd President of the United States, a wealthy person from a very respectable family. The week before he died, a young man, a friend of the family named Devin, had passed away. The day after the funeral of John Scott Harrison, his son and an acquaintance went out to the cemetery to check the grave. They noticed that Devin's grave had been opened. Immediately they went by train to Cincinnati, contacted the police, and went with two constables to the medical schools. They went from one medical school to another; no trace of Devin was to be found. They went to the last medical school, inquired within, and received the typical negative answers. As they were leaving, one of the constables noted a taut rope hanging from a windlass through a trap door. He opened the trap door, cranked up the windlass, and raised a body out of the trap door. It had a cover around its head. They noted gray hair, realized that it couldn't be Devin, their young friend, so they started walking away. One of the constables was interested, he removed the cloth, and there was John Scott Harrison! Every newspaper in the country carried this story of grave robbing. Upon questioning, one of the janitors in the medical school confessed that he was in with a resurrectionist, in that he allowed the grave robber to hide the bodies in the cellar of the school. The resurrectionist was often called by his nickname, "Gabriel"; other times he would use the name of Dr. Christian. These were his two aliases. It was found that the young fellow, Devin, was sent to Ann Arbor in a container marked "pickles," and so young Harrison came up to Ann Arbor and went to the police, who accompanied him to the medical school. The demonstrator indicated that he had the body, but would not give it to them until they paid $30, the cost of obtaining it. They wouldn't pay and were ready to go to court, but then President Angell told the demonstrator to give them the body and to forget about the $30!

In 1866 the first anatomical law in the state of Michigan was passed. This was the year that Professor Ford wrote to Regent Gilbert, and it was Regent Gilbert who was instrumental in passing "an act to authorize dissection in certain cases for the advancement of science." The specimens were to come from almshouses and courthouses, or bodies that had to be buried at the public's expense. However, there were a few very gaping loopholes in this law. The body could not be given if the person in his last illness said he wanted to be buried; if the person was a stranger to the village officials in charge of burials, he had to be buried. In

addition, friends, relatives, or neighbors could also bury the individual. Therefore this law didn't do too much, and bodies continued to be stolen from their grounds after 1866. In 1871 an amendment was added to the law. It stated that the regents or the faculty could not receive money in excess of the actual cost of the body. This cut off the funds for travel of the demonstrator; therefore, the lawmakers felt that the demonstrator would stay in Ann Arbor because he couldn't make his connections, and there wouldn't be any more graves robbed. This, of course, didn't work. In 1875 the first real anatomical act came into being. The main reason for this new law was the new laws in other states. Our area of supply at that time was Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and other areas in the south. All these states put through anatomical laws before Michigan; these laws made grave-robbing a very serious offense. Therefore, our Demonstrators of Anatomy were really in trouble if they went to their source of supply. The supply was cut off; Michigan had to have a law of its own. The law was quite a good one from the very beginning. It stated that bodies of persons who had to be buried at public expense were to be sent to the medical school, and that a penalty of $100 a body was to be assessed to those who did not comply with this law. Although there were a few cases of grave robbing after this law came into being, no more graves were robbed after 1881.

In 1958 Dr. R. T. Woodburne, Chairman of the Department of Anatomy, worked with the Legislature in modernizing the anatomical laws. The new law established an anatomical committee, made up of various members of the faculty from Wayne State University and the University of Michigan Medical Schools. This committee has complete control of all unclaimed bodies in the state, their transportation to the school, method of preservation, and allocation of the specimens. Complementing this act was another which made it legal for the first time in Michigan to donate any body parts, or the entire body. Previous to this it had been thought that the body belonged to the next of kin and such "property" could not be willed. This second law allows one to legally donate his corneas to an eye bank, bone or blood vessels for transplantation work, or other bodily parts, or the entire body.

Thus the University of Michigan Medical School has come a very long way in its 113 years. From the rough and tumble medical students, the grave robbers and their activities, has arisen a Medical School which is outstanding in the world.

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POSTAL MARKINGS OF WASHTENAW COUNTY

A talk with slides given by Robert H. Schoen, at the March 16, 1962 meeting of the Society. In lieu of a manuscript, Mr. Schoen summarized his lecture in the following pleasant letter to your editor:

Dear Miss Duff:

Just sorry that you weren't able to attend the evening meeting on March 16,1962. After the meeting Mrs. Groomes asked me to send the manuscript, if I had one. She knew I didn't have one or use one, and that I talked from my notes. To keep the record straight, this is approximately what I said:

Thank you Dr. Bidlack, fellow members of the Washtenaw Historical Society, friends This is an event. With the exception of Miss Lela Duff, I have never met you members of the Society until tonight, which I believe is a new approach. A Freshman talking to Masters and Doctors of the Society, members of long standing, and Washtenaw Co. Historians. I am quite concerned as just last evening I again read through the few copies of Washtenaw Impressions I have, and one in particular makes me wonder if per haps I should not have stayed in the North. I refer to an issue of some 5 years ago. I too am without a manuscript, not even a short one, and I too have a bundle of notes

Early today, as has happened many times in the past, I was asked why I became so very interested in Washtenaw County Postal History. I answered with the usual, "Washtenaw County with forty Territorial Post Offices; the University of Michigan with its influence; and the personnel of the Ann Arbor Post Office in the '80's blend together to form a most interesting philatelic study." With your permission I should like to test the old adage, "One picture is worth a thousand words,"and without any further comments we shall journey through Washtenaw County in the nineteenth century.

I then started the slides, the first being the picture of the John Allen letter to his aunt, Mrs. Jane Trimble, and explained the postal markings. I did notice that Mrs. Groomes made notes on many of the various slides as they were shown, so I did my best to explain the various markings and their meaning. We went through the Ann Arbor slides, which took one hour and one minute. I attempted to answer questions as they came, including most of those of Mrs. del Toro. I then asked if the audience were tired or bored, and if I should continue. I had planned my presentation that way, one hour or an hour and a half. As it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that we continue, I went through the rest, in alphabetical order, and finished with the city of Ypsilanti: total time, one hour and 32 minutes. Many members asked questions, some more or less personal.

I've tried a manuscript presentation in the past and it just doesn't work out with slides. A question at the wrong time knocks the whole thing into a cocked hat, changes what I had intended, even changes what the slide actually shows. I have no idea how my talk was received, but I hope I did not waste the time of those who attended the meeting.

All good wishes. (Signed) Robert H. Schoen.

[In answer to Mr. Schoen's last remark: Your editor has heard from every direction most appreciative comments on his authoritative and interesting talk.]

MEMO: Mr. Louis Doll's valuable paper on Chapman's 1881 "History" given before the Society on April 27, 1962, will be distributed to the members in a forthcoming issue of the Impressions.